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*Editors*

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## THE OPERATION OF THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU IN SOUTH CAROLINA

CHAPTERS V-VIII

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# CONTENTS

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## CHAPTER V—GOVERNMENT RELIEF

1. Impoverishment of the South immediately after the war	119
2. Distribution of rations by the freedmen's bureau.....	120
3. Distribution of clothing.....	124
4. Criticism of distribution of rations and clothing.....	125
5. Medical department .....	126

## CHAPTER VI—EDUCATION

1. Early public educational facilities in South Carolina....	128
2. General educational plans of the freedmen's bureau in South Carolina .....	129
3. Finances .....	130
4. Eagerness of negroes for education.....	131
5. Hostility of Southern whites.....	131
6. Accomplishments .....	132
7. Establishment of state public school system and close of bureau .....	134
8. General criticism .....	137

## CHAPTER VII—FREE TRANSPORTATION, BANKS AND CLAIMS FOR MILITARY SERVICE

1. Free transportation .....	139
2. Banks .....	141
3. Claims for military service.....	142

## CHAPTER VIII—CONCLUSION

1. Necessity for some kind of governmental agency.....	145
2. Unpopularity of the bureau in the South.....	146
3. Unfavorable results of the bureau.....	147
4. Favorable results of the bureau.....	150
5. Final comment .....	151

## APPENDIXES

Appendix A .....	152
Appendix B .....	155
Appendix C .....	159
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	160



# The Operation of the Freedmen's Bureau in South Carolina

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## CHAPTER V

### GOVERNMENT RELIEF

The impoverishing effects of war have never been more keenly felt than in the Southern States after the Civil War. The confederacy had strained every resource to maintain its existence. Boys and old men had filled up the rapidly depleting ranks of the army, leaving at home only women, children, and negroes to provide food for themselves and for the soldiers. In the midst of this struggle came General Sherman, burning homes and emptying scanty stores. Fortunes were risked and lost, and finally, in many instances, the land alone was left. Naturally, the owners tried to sell some of their real estate, but they met with little success, for all were poor alike. The daily newspapers of the period sometimes contain in one issue as many as thirty notices of bankruptcy.<sup>1</sup>

The negroes shared the destitution of their former owners. To the great credit of their race, many of them had faithfully served during the war, showing a loyalty to their masters' interests and an unselfish devotion to duty that have no parallel in history. General Howard admitted, in his first report, that as a general rule the Southerners were caring as well as they could for the negroes who remained on the plantations.<sup>2</sup> But thousands had left their homes and were looking to the government for support. Even among those who had been assigned land along the seacoast, there were many orphaned children and adults too old and infirm to work, and the able-bodied were destitute until the crops could be harvested. Temporary help from some source was necessary.

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<sup>1</sup> Sen. Doc., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 6, Vol. I, p. 118; Contemporary Newspapers.

<sup>2</sup> Gen. Howard's Report, Dec., 1865, pp. 15-16.

The first freedman's bureau bill provided that "the Secretary of War may direct such issues of provisions, clothing, and fuel, as he may deem needful for the immediate and temporary shelter and supply of destitute and suffering refugees and freedmen and their wives and children, under such rules and regulations as he may direct."<sup>3</sup> In careless hands, such an unlimited opportunity of giving might easily have engendered idleness and pauperism. Already, because of the large supplies given out by the army, many negroes and poor whites seemed to think they were to be permanent recipients of food.<sup>4</sup> Howard recognized the need of precaution and ordered that aid should be given only "to the helpless and destitute classes of refugees and freedmen, the sick, the very old, and orphans too young to earn their own support."<sup>5</sup> However, advances of rations were furnished to able-bodied but destitute refugees and freedmen, and a lien taken upon their crops.<sup>6</sup> To prevent fraud, only small issues were made at a time, and the order had to be signed by a commissioned officer, approved by a commanding officer of the post or station, and where practicable by the assistant commissioner.<sup>7</sup> Whitelaw Reid reported in 1865 that the negroes were making haste to repay the government for these loans.<sup>8</sup> Statistics show a lessening amount of rations issued in the fall of that year.<sup>9</sup>

Early in 1866 there were two causes for an increased need of government relief. The hundreds of negroes who had flocked to the coast to receive their Christmas gifts of forty acres and a mule now filled Charleston and vicinity with a penniless and disappointed class of the unemployed. In the second place, planters were anxious to resume the cultivation of their lands, but had

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<sup>3</sup> U. S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 13, p. 508.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. Howard's report, Dec., 1865, p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> Ex. Doc., 41 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 6, No. 142, p. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Ex. Doc., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 11, p. 15.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.

<sup>8</sup> Reid, Whitelaw, *The South After the War*, 92. When the sea islands were restored to their former owners, Gen. Howard directed that the freedmen should not be required to repay these advances. *Charleston Daily Courier*, July 4, 1866.

<sup>9</sup> *The Nation*, I., 780.

nothing wherewith to feed the laborers until the harvest. In this emergency, the freedmen's bureau issued rations to the planters of South Carolina for the resident freedmen in their employ. The price charged was the actual cost of the provisions at place of delivery, and payment could be made either in money or by giving a lien on the crops.<sup>10</sup>

February 10, 1866, Assistant Commissioner Scott issued from Charleston General Order No. 8, which reads as follows:

"I. A camp for destitute and unemployed freed persons will be established on the grounds near Magnolia Peninsula. II. All freed persons residing in this city to whom rations are issued, and all who may come here, will report at once to the officers who may be designated by the Assistant Commissioner to command the camp, for assignment to quarters. III. Tents for shelter, etc., will be drawn up by the officer in charge upon requisition approved by these headquarters. IV. All rations issued to destitute refugees and freedmen will be issued by the camp as soon as it is organized, and such rations will be issued to the freedmen only who are unable to procure employment after diligent exertions. V. Mr. Gilbert Pillsbury is charged with the organization and temporary superintendence of the camp, until some commissioned officer is designated by the Assistant Commissioner to take command. VI. All persons desiring to employ laborers will apply in writing to these Headquarters or in person to Mr. Pillsbury."<sup>11</sup>

A liberal interpretation of the word refugee was made to include such destitute whites as were in real need of government aid for their support. General Scott reported that "on issuing days might be seen the white lady of respectability standing side by side with the African, both awaiting their turn to receive their weekly supply of rations."<sup>12</sup>

From the first, General Howard and his assistants felt that relief by the national government should be only a temporary measure and that as soon as possible all dependents should be cared for by their own communities.<sup>13</sup> With this idea in view, Circular No. 10 was issued from Washington, August 22, 1866, which announced that on and after the first of October of that year issues of rations should be discontinued, except to refugees

<sup>10</sup> The Charleston *Daily Courier*, Feb. 1, 10, 13, 1866.

<sup>11</sup> *Weekly Record*, Feb. 17, 1866.

<sup>12</sup> The Charleston *Daily Courier*, Feb. 1, 1866. Sen. Docs., 39 Cong. 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 113.

<sup>13</sup> Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 8, No. 70, p. 95.

and freedmen in regularly organized hospitals and orphan asylums already in existence.<sup>14</sup> This order came at an inopportune time for South Carolina. In May, 1866, two tornadoes had swept over the coast region of the state, destroying crops and demolishing the freedmen's village on Port Royal Island and nearly all of Saint Helensville.<sup>15</sup> Other agencies combined to cause an almost complete failure of the corn supply of the entire state during the winter of 1866 and 1867 so that thousands faced actual starvation.<sup>16</sup>

The state legislature considered the matter of relief, but a bill to provide corn for the destitute failed to pass.<sup>17</sup> Finally the suffering became so great that congress, by joint resolution, authorized a special relief fund from money already appropriated to the freedmen's bureau.<sup>18</sup> Accordingly, half a million dollars was expended to relieve the famine in the Southern States, and in addition help was sent by the Southern Relief Association. Special agents, who worked without pay, distributed supplies from these two sources to the destitute of both races. The official reports state that "the conditions in remote districts were appalling. Women and children in a starving condition flocked to officers of the bureau, walking from twenty to forty miles to reach them."<sup>19</sup> In 1867, during the months from May to October, 19,124 whites and 35,698 negroes were aided in South Carolina by the special relief fund and \$110,138.09 of public money was expended.<sup>20</sup>

In 1868, the freedmen's bureau again dispensed relief, especially to negroes who had planted crops but were unable to support themselves until the harvest. In such cases help was given only after an investigation had proved that enough food supplies were under cultivation to repay advances and to support the family

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<sup>14</sup> Report of the Sec. of War, 39 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 712.

<sup>15</sup> *The Nation*, Vol. 2, p. 658.

<sup>16</sup> *Charleston Advocate*, Feb. 23, 1867; Report of the Sec. of War, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., pp. 670, 671.

<sup>17</sup> *The Charleston Advocate*, Feb. 23 and March 2, 1867.

<sup>18</sup> U. S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 15, p. 28.

<sup>19</sup> Report of Sec. of War, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., pp. 670, 671.

<sup>20</sup> Gen. Howard's Report, Nov. 1, 1867, p. 30.

during the next year. In every case of issue, formal bonds were taken.<sup>21</sup> After 1868, no supplies were given by the bureau.<sup>22</sup> The accompanying table gives the number of rations issued to refugees and freedmen in South Carolina each year, with the corresponding number issued to all the districts covered by the bureau. It will be noticed that the supply decreased each year (except for the Special Relief Fund of 1867), and that South Carolina received a large share of the distribution.<sup>23</sup> The figures are from the reports of General Howard.

THE NUMBER OF RATIONS ISSUED TO DEPENDENT REFUGEES AND  
FREEDMEN FROM JUNE 1, 1865, TO SEPTEMBER 1, 1868,  
IN THE DISTRICT OF SOUTH CAROLINA

	REFUGEES	FREEDMEN	TOTAL
June 1, 1865			
to	124,144	987,703	1,111,847
Sept. 1, 1866			
Sept. 1, 1866			
to	242,643	810,309	1,052,952
Sept. 1, 1867			
Sept. 1, 1867*			
to	17,927	93,626	111,553
Sept. 1, 1868			

\* This does not appear to include the additional expenditure of \$110,-138.09 by the Special Relief Fund of 1867. Gen. Howard's Report, Oct. 20, 1869, p. 7. Circular No. 8, issued June 20, 1865 reads as follows:

"The following ration, being substantially that established by General Orders No. 30, War Dept., 1864, is republished. *Ration*—Pork or bacon, 10 oz., in lieu of fresh beef; fresh beef, 16 oz., flour and soft bread, 16 oz., twice a week; hard bread, 12 oz., in lieu of flour or soft bread; corn meal, 16 oz., 5 times a week; beans, peas, or hominy, 10 lbs., to 100 rations; sugar, 8 lbs., to 100 rations; vinegar, 2 qts., to 100 rations; candles, adamantine or star, 8 oz., to 100 rations; soap, 2 lbs., to 100 rations; salt, 2 lbs., to 100 rations; pepper, 20 oz., to 100 rations. Women and children, in addition to the foregoing ration, are allowed roasted rye coffee, at the rate of 10 lbs., or tea at the rate of 15 oz., to each 100 rations. Children under 14 yrs. of age are allowed half rations. Issues of provisions on short periods of time, not exceeding 7 days, signed by a commissioned officer and approved by the commanding officer of the post or station, and when practicable by the assistant commissioner." Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 11, p. 47 (Gen. Howard's Report).

<sup>21</sup> Report of the Sec. of War, 40 Cong., 3rd Sess., Vol. 1, p. 1041.

<sup>22</sup> Report of Gen. Howard, Oct. 20, 1869, pp. 20-21.

<sup>23</sup> The number of districts varied from 12 to 14.

Total from			
June 1, 1865			
to	384,714	1,891,638	2,276,352
Sept. 1, 1868			

## TOTAL FOR ALL THE DISTRICTS OF THE BUREAU

	REFUGEES	FREEDMEN	TOTAL
June 1, 1865			
to	4,507,922	8,904,451½	13,412,373½
Sept. 1, 1866			
Sept. 1, 1866			
to	692,548	3,504,629	4,197,177
Sept. 1, 1867			
Sept. 1, 1867*			
to	238,119	2,564,359	2,802,478
Sept. 1, 1868			
Total from			
June 1, 1865			
to	5,438,589	14,973,439½	20,412,028½
Sept. 1, 1868			

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Supplies of clothing were also given out by the freedmen's bureau. A large amount of army clothing, condemned as unfit for the troops, was distributed to the poor and needy.<sup>24</sup> In addition, \$252,547.35 of clothing was purchased and distributed in the various districts. There is no record to show the proportion received by the freedmen and refugees in South Carolina.

What was the effect of this benevolent paternalism on the part of the government? Doubtless there were some who took undue advantage of the government's liberality. For example, an instance is on record of a negro who walked one hundred miles to obtain half a bushel of corn meal from the bureau, when in the same time he might have earned nine times the amount by honest labor.<sup>25</sup> Generals Steedman and Fullerton, sent out by the secretary of war to make an official investigation of the freedmen's bureau, charged General Saxton with too free a bestowal of government supplies and commended his successor, General Scott, for reducing the issue of rations.<sup>26</sup> But as the

<sup>24</sup> Ex. Docs., 41 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 6, No. 142, p. 7.

<sup>25</sup> Winston, George T., *Relation of the Whites to the Negroes*, 113.

<sup>26</sup> *Charleston Daily Courier*, June 16 and July 4, 1866.



*Nation* pointed out, such a charge was of little moment, coming just at the time when great destitution was reported from South Carolina and General Scott was asking permission to issue an increased number of rations.<sup>27</sup>

Strange as it may seem, a careful study of the situation leads to the conclusion that where error was made, it was usually made on the side of extreme caution rather than of excessive liberality. So great was the desire to avoid giving too freely, that a system of red tape was established, so inelastic that in many cases real sufferers could obtain no relief. The joint committee on reconstruction reported that personal attendance was required of all applicants for help. Many maimed, bedridden, and infirm persons were unable to comply with such orders and it was reported that some had starved to death.<sup>28</sup> Colonel U. R. Brooks, of Columbia, testified that an old negro, formerly belonging to his father, put himself entirely in the hands of the bureau and met the same fate. It will be noticed that the order for the personal attendance of applicants came from the army, and there is no doubt that its interference caused much suffering for which the bureau was blamed.

On the whole, this department of the bureau, in which there was so much opportunity for graft and unwise liberality, and in which there was interference from the army, was handled with prudence and foresight. The loan of provisions to planters for the use of their employees was commended by the *Charleston Daily Courier* of February 1, 1866, as follows: "The provision thus made is humane and judicious, and will prove of great assistance in facilitating the efforts to bring quickly to cultivation lands which might have been unemployed. Nor less judicious is the liberal interpretation of 'refugees.'"<sup>29</sup>

Closely connected with the distribution of rations and clothing, was the medical department of the bureau. During the war, the army had undertaken the care of sick negroes. Upon the

<sup>27</sup> The *Nation*, Vol. 2, p. 754.

<sup>28</sup> Report of Joint Com. on Reconstruction, Part II, p. 223; Report of Joint Com. on Reconstruction, Part VII, p. 41.

<sup>29</sup> See Page 69.

organization of the bureau, General Howard at once appointed Surgeon Caleb W. Horner as chief medical officer of the bureau, and William R. DeWitt, of the United States Volunteers, was assigned to duty as surgeon in chief for South Carolina. The bureau was assisted in its medical care of the refugees and freedmen both by the army, benevolent associations, and the civil authorities. Medical and hospital provisions were supplied by the surgeon general of the army, and co-operation with civil authorities was encouraged. The *Nation* of March 1, 1866, quotes Surgeon DeWitt as saying that the civil authorities had promised to pay all the physicians, stewards, nurses and cooks and that the bureau had only to furnish medicine for the freed people.<sup>30</sup>

By November 1, 1866, General Howard reported that the benefits of the medical department had spread to the remote parts of the state and that its work was gratefully appreciated.<sup>31</sup> A year later, the policy of the bureau was to diminish the number of hospitals and asylums, and to replace them where necessary with dispensaries. It was found that the latter were more economical and that they tended to make the beneficiaries more provident.<sup>32</sup> By June 30, 1869, the medical work of the bureau in the state was turned over to the civil authorities. In many cases, hospital equipment and medicines were given them by the bureau as an inducement to undertake the care of the sick.<sup>33</sup> No detailed record of such transfers is given in the reports, so it is impossible to know how much of this was done in South Carolina.

The work of the medical department of the bureau is worthy of praise. In fact, much more was reported as done in South Carolina than in any other bureau district. During the year ending June 30, 1868, over six times as many refugees were treated in South Carolina as in the other twelve districts combined.<sup>34</sup> This may have been caused largely by the co-operation

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<sup>30</sup> The *Nation* II, 260.

<sup>31</sup> Report of the Sec. of War, 39 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 737.

<sup>32</sup> Messages and Documents, 1867-1868, p. 478.

<sup>33</sup> Report of Gen. Howard, Oct. 20, 1869, p. 17.

<sup>34</sup> Report of Gen. Howard, Nov. 1, 1867, p. 12.

with civil authorities. If so, credit is due for the conciliatory policy that made such co-operation possible. It is worthy of notice that among adverse criticisms of the bureau, this department escaped. All classes gratefully acknowledged its helpfulness and gladly gave it their co-operation. It did a great work in preventing, as well as in curing, disease. The reports record over 4,000 vaccinations and a yearly lowering of the percentage of deaths among those treated.

With so much that speaks for itself of the ability of the man in charge of this department in South Carolina, we are not surprised to find the following in the report of Robert Reyborn, chief medical officer for the bureau: "While so many excelled, it may appear invidious to distinguish, yet the energy and marked administrative ability of Dr. M. K. Hogan, surgeon-in-chief, district of South Carolina and late brevet colonel and surgeon, United States Volunteers, entitle him to special mention."<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Report of Gen. Howard, Oct. 20, 1869, pp. 16, 17. Surgeon Hogan replaced Surgeon DeWitt sometime after Nov. 1, 1866.

## CHAPTER VI

### EDUCATION

Before the war, South Carolina maintained no state system of public schools, as we now understand the term. She did, however, support free schools for children whose parents were unable to give them any educational advantages. These schools were strictly for the indigent class and attendance was not compulsory.<sup>1</sup> By a state law of 1834, it was made a punishable offense to teach any slave to read or write.<sup>2</sup> As a matter of fact, this law was not strictly enforced, and numbers of house slaves were taught by their owners, but the great mass of them were of course uneducated. In 1860 there were in the state 9,914 free negroes, over 3,000 of whom lived in Charleston, where in their own school many had received some instruction.<sup>3</sup> The city granted a license to the teachers of free negroes, with a provision that a white person should be present during the instruction.<sup>4</sup>

When Charleston was occupied by the Union forces in February, 1865, James Redpath, of Massachusetts, was at once appointed superintendent of education for the city. He immediately took possession of the public school buildings and reopened them for the use of black and white children in separate rooms. Employment was offered to all the former teachers of the city. Some accepted the offer, while other teachers were procured from the North and from the free negro class. The New York and New England societies assumed the responsibility for the teachers' salaries.<sup>5</sup> Redpath reported that 11 schools were set in operation, in which were over 3,000 negro and nearly 1,000 white children.<sup>6</sup> The Charleston *Daily Courier* gave the enroll-

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<sup>1</sup> Reynolds, John S., *Reconstruction in South Carolina*, 134.

<sup>2</sup> Hurd, John C., *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, II, 98.

<sup>3</sup> Population of the U. S. in 1860, 452.

<sup>4</sup> Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II, 251; *The Nation*, Nov. 27, 1865.

<sup>5</sup> *The American Freedman*, May, 1866, p. 29.

<sup>6</sup> *The New York Evening Post*, Feb. 26, 1866; *The American Freedman*, May, 1866, p. 29.

ment for the same period as 1,004, and stated that one-sixth of the number were white.<sup>7</sup>

The establishment of schools on the sea islands has already been described in Chapter VI. These schools were maintained throughout the war by the help of Northern philanthropic societies. After 1863, revenues from the rent and sale of land by the United States tax commissioners were devoted to school purposes,<sup>8</sup> and in August, 1865, General Saxton reported that 15 schools on the islands were supported in this manner.<sup>9</sup> The work of education was also carried on at the army posts, where officers of the line and chaplains became the teachers, and colonels, the superintendents. The 128th United States colored troops at Beaufort received special mention for their educational work. Even in hospitals some teaching was done.<sup>10</sup>

By the fall of 1865, the freedmen's bureau in South Carolina had taken charge of the schools for refugees and freedmen. Reuben Tomlinson, of Philadelphia, was appointed state superintendent and remained in that position until October 19, 1868. He was succeeded first by Brevet Major Horace Neide and on July 10, 1869, by Brevet Major Edward L. Deane. Tomlinson was commended by J. W. Alvord, General Superintendent of Schools for the bureau, as "eminently successful." "A large amount of what has been accomplished in that State" [South Carolina], wrote Mr. Alvord in 1869, "is due to his untiring efforts."<sup>11</sup> In circular number 2, dated May 19, 1865, Howard stated the educational policy of the bureau as follows: "The utmost facility will be offered to benevolent and religious organizations and state authorities in the maintenance of good schools for refugees and freedmen until a system of free schools can be supported by the reorganized local governments. It is not my purpose to supersede the benevolent agencies already engaged in

<sup>7</sup> Charleston *Daily Courier*, July 3, 1865.

<sup>8</sup> Report of J. W. Alvord, January 1, 1869, pp. 20-21.

<sup>9</sup> The *Nation*, I, 227.

<sup>10</sup> Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II, pp. 249-250. Report of J. W. Alvord, January 1, 1869, pp. 3-4.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, January 1, 1869, p. 20, and January 1, 1870, p. 23.

the work of education, but to systematize and facilitate them."<sup>12</sup>

For the first year of its existence, the bureau was hampered by lack of funds. During that time no money was appropriated by congress for educational purposes, so that the bureau was able to help the philanthropic societies only by supervision, transportation of teachers, and in many cases by the occupation of buildings in possession of the bureau. Teachers authorized by the Assistant Commissioner and actually on duty, were allowed to purchase rations of the government under the same rules as applied to the commissioned officers of the army.<sup>13</sup> The *Nation* reports that Tomlinson was so anxious to lose no time in reopening the Charleston schools, that he expended about a thousand dollars of his private means in the repair of school buildings.<sup>14</sup>

In 1866, the educational department of the bureau was put upon a financial basis. By the act of July 16, commissioners were authorized to "seize, hold, lease or sell for school purposes" land and other property belonging to them.<sup>15</sup> The same year, congress, in its appropriations for the bureau, specified that money could be expended for "repairs and rent of school houses and asylums."<sup>16</sup> Salaries of teachers, however, were not provided for by the government, and were still paid by philanthropic societies, private individuals or by the freedmen themselves.

Considering the poverty of the negroes, the amount they contributed toward education is remarkable. Tomlinson reported in July, 1867, that the colored people of the state had given \$17,200 for school purposes during the previous year.<sup>17</sup> Many of the schools were made self-supporting through the payment by the pupils of small tuition fees. In 1868, it was estimated that there were in South Carolina at least 8,000 pupils in these self-sustaining schools.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, July 1, 1868, p. 23.

<sup>13</sup> Report of J. W. Alvord, Jan. 1, 1868, pp. 5-6.

<sup>14</sup> Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 11, p. 47. Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II, p. 250.

<sup>15</sup> The *Nation*, I, 779 (Nov. 27, 1865).

<sup>16</sup> U. S. Statutes at Large, XIV., 175.

<sup>17</sup> Report of Gen. Howard, Nov. 1, 1866, p. 61.

<sup>18</sup> Report of J. W. Alvord, July 1, 1867, p. 23.

The eagerness with which the negroes had at first taken advantage of educational opportunities was unabated. Many were anxious to become teachers, and all seemed to feel that their hope of advancement lay in education. In many cases the laborers attended evening and Sunday classes.<sup>19</sup> Throughout the South were found groups of negroes, old and young, taught by members of their own race who had in some way gained a smattering of learning. Such groups were unreported, and it is impossible to estimate their numbers, but they well illustrate the negro's thirst for knowledge and the impatience of the race to wait for the coming of regular teachers.

In opposition to the desire for education on the part of the blacks and the response of the Northern societies, was the hostility of the Southern whites to the establishment of negro schools. This feeling was based on the almost universal belief among the former slaveholders that an educated negro was a spoiled negro. The experiment was undertaken by those whom they felt to be their enemies, and they feared it would wreck the entire industrial life of the South.<sup>20</sup> The opposition was stronger in the country than in the city.<sup>21</sup> After a tour of the state in 1865, Tomlinson is reported by the *Nation* as saying that outside of Charleston he believed no colored school could be maintained a month after the withdrawal of Federal troops.<sup>22</sup>

The reports of the superintendent of schools give instances of the breaking up of negro schools by force and intimidation. As a general rule, Northern teachers of these schools were not received in boarding houses for whites and were often insultingly treated. Tomlinson reported that the school house at Columbia

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 1, 1866, p. 1, and July 1, 1869, p. 3; Report of the Sec. of War, 39 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 737. It is an interesting fact that by a South Carolina statute, persons convicted of certain crimes, such as burglary and arson, were exempted from the death penalty if they could read and write. See Report of Sec. of War, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 672.

<sup>20</sup> Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II, pp. 246, 247, and Part III, p. 34. Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 279.

<sup>21</sup> Schurz, Carl, Report, 25-26; Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II, p. 233 and Part III, p. 35.

<sup>22</sup> The *Nation*, I., 779.

was burned, the night school at Orangeburg was fired upon, and at Walhalla some native whites hired a drunken vagabond negro to attend the school and accompany the teacher, a white woman from Vermont, home through the village streets. Other instances could be given, but the above are typical cases.<sup>23</sup> The city of Charleston, however, afforded an exception to the wide spread opposition to negro schools. Because of the presence before the war of educated free negroes, the people of Charleston had become accustomed to the idea of negro education and had found that a certain amount of learning made them better members of the community. Hence, when the city schools were opened to negroes in the spring of 1865, the opposition of the whites was centered upon the occupying of the public school houses by negroes, rather than upon negro education itself.<sup>24</sup> The Home Missionary Society of the Protestant Episcopal Church led the way in the support of negro education by the white people of the state. That society purchased at auction in 1866 the Marine Hospital building at Charleston where the Rev. A. Toomer Porter, former chaplain of the army, opened a school and orphan home for negro children. At the same time he maintained a school for white children in a separate building. A part of the purchase money for the Marine Hospital was raised in the North, President Andrew Johnson contributing a check of a thousand dollars.<sup>25</sup>

Gradually, opposition to negro schools began to break down throughout the state, especially in the cities and towns. Supt. Tomlinson in July, 1867, reported as follows: "I visited Columbia, Camden, Sumter, Timmons ville, Darlington, Marion, Cheraw, Florence, Kingstree, and intermediate points, and I am confirmed in the conviction (if confirmation were needed) that nothing so rapidly tends to produce harmony between the white

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<sup>23</sup> Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II, p. 218; Report of J. W. Alvord, Jan. 1, 1867, pp. 11 and 28; July 1, 1867, p. 19; Jan. 1, 1868, p. 8; Jan. 1, 1870, p. 26. Howard, O. O., Autobiography, II, 383.

<sup>24</sup> Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II, p. 251.

<sup>25</sup> The *Nation*, II, 770, and III, 103 and 383. Charleston *Advocate*, Oct. 10, 1868. Howard, O. O., Autobiography, II, 339.



and colored people as the establishment of schools among them. Take the towns enumerated above as examples. In no other places was greater opposition, short of violence, manifested toward colored schools than in these places when the first schools were started. I question very much whether now a half dozen men of intelligence can be found in any of these places who would not deem it a public calamity to have the schools discontinued. I do not mean to assert that any active sympathy is shown, or that the white people in any of these localities are ready to co-operate with us. The time has not come for this. But in most of these localities, the residents in the immediate neighborhood of the schools have ceased to speak with bitterness of them, and generally treat the teachers with politeness. In Columbia a very marked change in public feeling towards the schools has taken place. The mayor of the city has visited them, and after expressing the greatest satisfaction with all he saw, took occasion at a meeting of the council to advise all its members to visit the schools also."<sup>26</sup>

In several instances, planters sought bureau headquarters for advice and information in regard to the establishment of schools in their neighborhood.<sup>27</sup> It was discovered that negroes were dissatisfied in places where their children could not attend school, and in some cases clauses, providing for education of the children, were inserted in the laborers' contracts. Thus the planters who provided school privileges for the negroes obtained a more permanent and efficient class of laborers.<sup>28</sup> Instances are on record where white citizens offered to help in the support of negro schools, provided native teachers were employed. It must not be understood, however, that opposition entirely ceased at this time. Often hostility resulted from a dislike of Northern teachers and the belief that their social and political teaching was harmful.

Because of military protection and of financial limitations,

<sup>26</sup> Report of J. W. Alvord, July 1, 1867, p. 19.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 67.

the educational work of the bureau was at first largely confined to cities and towns. In Charleston, since 1856, there had been maintained a system of free schools, supported partly by state aid.<sup>29</sup> As has been seen, these public school buildings were occupied by Redpath and his assistants in the spring of 1865, and opened to children of both races. All of the buildings except one were restored to the whites by 1871, and in addition the bureau built in 1868 a two-story building, known as Avery Institute. This was for the use of colored pupils and was superintended by the Rev. F. L. Cardozo, a Charleston free negro who had received a university education in Glasgow.<sup>30</sup> Other schools opened in Charleston under the direction of the bureau were the Shaw School, established by friends of Col. Robert Gould Shaw; Wallingford Academy, supported by the Northern Presbyterians; Franklin Street High School, supported by the Protestant Episcopal Home Mission; and the Baker Theological Seminary of the Methodist Episcopal Church.<sup>31</sup> In Columbia, a school named for General Howard, was established and supported by the New York branch of the Freedmen's Union Commission. By January 1, 1869, it was reported that educational facilities had been provided in the cities and most of the large towns. Special mention was made of the schools at Lawrenceville, Cheraw, Bennettsville, Marion, Kingstree, Florence, Orangeburg, and St. Helena Island.<sup>32</sup>

From 1869 on, it was the policy of the bureau to pay less attention to city schools and to use every effort to aid the country districts.<sup>33</sup> This change of plan coincided with the curtailment of employees and funds in the closing up of most of the departments of the bureau. But even with diminished forces, the concentration upon educational work made it possible in 1869 nearly

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<sup>29</sup> Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1871, p. 344. This "experiment," as it was called, was confined to the district of Charleston.

<sup>30</sup> Charleston *Advocate*, March 2 and May 16, 1868; The *Nation*, Nov. 27, 1865; Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1871, p. 344.

<sup>31</sup> Report of J. W. Alvord, Jan. 1, 1870, pp. 23-24; U. S. Bureau of Education, Chapter from the Com. of Ed., 1902, Ch. V, p. 287.

<sup>32</sup> Report of J. W. Alvord, July 1, 1868, pp. 22-24.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, January 1, 1869, p. 60.

to double the number of schools, teachers and pupils.<sup>34</sup> Arrangements were made whereby a portion of the current expenses of all schools of at least thirty pupils each was met by the bureau, and aid "to the full extent of the means in hand" was given to the construction of school houses in destitute regions.<sup>35</sup> Teachers from the rural schools were largely supplied from members of the negro race who had been trained in freedmen's schools. From the first, it had been the aim of the bureau to prepare negroes to teach. It was thought that this plan would render negro schools less obnoxious to the whites and more self-sustaining, and that it would be an incentive to the progress of the race.<sup>36</sup> Normal classes were taught in Avery Institute and in the Shaw School in Charleston, and in 1869 the Methodist Episcopal Church established at Orangeburg Claflin University, with a normal department.<sup>37</sup>

The subjects taught in negro schools were necessarily purely elementary at first. Most Northerners advocated the same kind of education for the negro that their own schools afforded, on the ground of equal mental capacity of the races. Their enthusiasm for higher education for the negro was temporarily restrained by the freedmen's lack of preparation, but within six years after the war, some of the schools for colored students were offering Greek, Latin, trigonometry and moral philosophy.

The great need of the freedmen for industrial education was seen by Supt. Alvord, who in his report of July 1, 1869, recommended the establishment in negro schools of a department of industrial science and art. "We earnestly propose," he wrote, "that the colored race possess comfortable homes, land and means to improve it; be skilled to labor; be a producing class—; able to cope with all other men in any department of human achievement. Why, if thus trained, should not many of them be foremost at length in the great interest of agriculture, manufactures and commerce?—Such standpoints would be vantage ground

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, January 1, 1870, p. 23.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, July 1, 1869, p. 4.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, January 1, 1866, pp. 12-13.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, January 1, 1870, pp. 23 and 64.

from which to conquer prejudice and secure hearty accord to equality of condition and capacity."<sup>38</sup> It is greatly to be deplored that his wise suggestion was not carried out.

The available statistics give a very inadequate idea of the educational work in progress during the years covered; for they do not include the numbers of schools scattered throughout the state which were not regularly reported. For instance, in January, 1867, the number of schools reported was 69 and the number of pupils 7,912. In the same report, Supt. Tomlinson gave the number of day and night schools not reported as 40 and estimated the number of pupils attending such schools as 4,000. In addition, the Sunday schools among the freedmen gave elementary instruction and so reached many who could not attend the week-day sessions. From all these facts, Tomlinson estimated that 30,000 colored persons in South Carolina had learned to read during the year 1866.<sup>39</sup> The American Freedmen's Union Commission gives the following report of the schools which its societies sustained in South Carolina during the season 1866-1867: New England Branch, 50; New York Branch, 36; Portland Auxiliary, 3; Pennsylvania Branch, 14; total, 103. By referring to the bureau's report for the same period, it will be seen that the latter's numbers are much smaller, though it had general supervision over all the freedmen's schools in the state. The bureau was never noted for its good bookkeeping, and too much importance must not be given to its statistics.

The co-operation between the bureau and the benevolent societies was so well managed that it is impossible to separate the work of the two agencies. As General Howard stated in the circular before quoted, the bureau's purpose was to "systematize and facilitate" the work of different philanthropic organizations. It advised with these societies, investigated and reported where work was most needed, compiled statistics, instituted a system of school reports and examinations of teachers, helped financially in the transportation of teachers, erection and repair of school

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<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, July 1, 1869, p. 84.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, January 1, 1867, pp. 10-12.

buildings, and the maintenance of schools, and kept the progress and needs of the schools ever before the eyes of the people. A good report of the work of the different Northern societies is given in Superintendent Alvord's reports of July 1, 1868, pp. 67-74 and January 1, 1869, pp. 54-58. In passing, it is of interest to note that from 1862 to July, 1869, friends in England contributed more than half a million dollars for negro education. Of this amount, South Carolina's share was the entire support of a school of 27 pupils at Greenville and one of 18 pupils at St. Helena's Island.<sup>40</sup> In spite of all that was done by the different eleemosynary agencies, only a small part of the freedmen was reached. In January, 1868, one colored child of school age in six in South Carolina was in school.<sup>41</sup> The masses were still ignorant, and would remain so until a good public school system could be established.

In 1868, the constitutional convention of South Carolina provided for a public school system and enjoined upon the legislature of the state the duty of passing a law for compulsory education. It also stipulated that schools and colleges supported by public funds should be open to all children of the state without regard to race or color.<sup>42</sup> In the same year, the state legislature passed a law for the organization of an educational department. For several years the state system of public schools was a very defective one. At first no appropriation was made. Later the treasury failed to disburse the funds, when appropriated.<sup>43</sup> But the educational work of the freedmen's bureau had at least led up to the establishment of a public school system in South Carolina and soon after that was accomplished, its existence ceased. The last educational report for the state was dated July 1, 1870.

The educational work of the freedmen's bureau was undertaken amid great difficulties. One of the hindrances was obviously the hostility of the native whites. Another, almost as

<sup>40</sup> Report of J. W. Alvord, July 1, 1869, p. 81.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, Jan. 1, 1868, p. 47.

<sup>42</sup> Reynolds, John S., *Reconstruction in S. C.*, 82-83.

<sup>43</sup> Annual Reports of the Commissioners of Education, 1870-1872.

great, was the idea of the North that the negro was the white man's equal in mental ability and that the same kind of education was desirable for both races. The negro, with his enthusiasm for learning, was the victim of the mistakes of both sections. It has taken nearly fifty years of experience to convince both North and South of their blunders and to arrive at the improved though still imperfect system of negro education of today. There is much for which the educational department of the freedmen's bureau can be criticised, for like all pioneer organizations, it made many mistakes. But if it led, even by circuitous routes, to a better system, and on the way gave a broader life to thousands, its work was not in vain.

## CHAPTER VII

### FREE TRANSPORTATION, BANKS, AND CLAIMS FOR MILITARY SERVICE

*Free Transportation.*—Just after the war, there was great restlessness among the negroes, and in South Carolina alone thousands of them were wandering about the state. The following are the principal causes of this migratory impulse: desire to test their freedom; to receive their share of the land which they heard was being distributed at the coast; to return to their former homes from which they had been separated by military service, or by flight with their masters to the upper part of the state; to find lost relatives; to be near the protection of the army and the freedmen's bureau; to be near freedmen's schools, and to see the world.<sup>1</sup>

Charleston and the lowlands were the Mecca of most of these wanderers. Thousands of negroes, whom their masters had taken into the interior for safe keeping upon the arrival of the Union army, were now seeking to return to their homes. An even stronger reason for the southward migration was the feeling prevalent among the negroes that real freedom could be found only in Charleston and its vicinity and that the government's bounty was to be disbursed there. Consequently, that city was overrun with unemployed negroes, dependent upon government support, while outside the town agriculture was being suspended for lack of laborers.<sup>2</sup>

Under these conditions, the freedmen's bureau endeavored to relieve the government of the burden of caring for the unemployed and to facilitate the return to industrial activity by transporting the laborers to places where their services were in demand.<sup>3</sup> For this purpose the bureau was allowed the use of

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<sup>1</sup> Messages and Documents, 1867-1868, p. 474; Report of Gen. Howard, Nov. 1, 1866, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> The Nation, II., 492; Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II., p. 247. Andrews, Sidney. The South Since the War, pp. 24, 25, 98.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., The Nation, Dec. 5, 1865, p. 813.

government transports and military railroads, and where this was not possible, the actual cost of transportation was furnished.<sup>4</sup> The *Nation*, December 5, 1865, gives the authority of an officer of the bureau in Columbia for the following: "During November the bureau sent down about 250 persons each week, and they give transportation to those only who are too old or too young to make the journey on foot. Through the summer and early autumn transportation was given to none; but it is estimated that in each month more than a thousand negroes passed through Columbia on their way to the low country, most of them being negroes whom their masters had removed to the interior for safe keeping." In November, 1866, Scott reported that 1,829 freedmen had received transportation in South Carolina during the previous year.<sup>5</sup>

The freedmen's bureau co-operated with Northern societies to aid numbers of negroes to leave the state. Employment bureaus were established in several Northern cities and freedmen were transported to homes in the North where they could find employment.<sup>6</sup> They were also assisted in settling upon the public lands in Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Florida, opened to them by the Homestead Act of June 21, 1866. In the winter of 1866-1867, it is estimated that thousands of negroes, discontented because of inability to become landowners in South Carolina or to make satisfactory contracts, emigrated to Florida. The government furnished transportation and promised six months rations after arrival. Some went on contracts which secured to them good rations, \$12 per month to first class men and \$6 to women.<sup>7</sup> About the same time the American Coloniza-

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<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, Dec., 1865, p. 43.

<sup>5</sup> Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. I, No. 6, p. 115.

<sup>6</sup> Report of Gen. Howard, Nov. 1, 1866, p. 6. *Ibid.*, Nov. 1, 1867, p. 52. The *Nation*, III., 383. Report of Sec. of War, 39 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 706.

<sup>7</sup> Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. I., No. 6, p. 123; The *Nation*, III., 23, 203, 263, and IV., 43, 143; this offer was open both to "loyal whites" and freedmen. See Report of Gen. Howard, Nov. 1, 1866, p. 59.



tion Society sent a shipload of 600 negroes from Charleston to Liberia.<sup>8</sup>

Free transportation was given by the bureau to the following classes of whites: destitute refugees, dependent upon the government for support, officers and agents of the bureau, and teachers accredited by the commissioners or by his assistants. This led to abuse in some cases. General Scott reported in 1866 that he had found it necessary to disapprove of a large number of orders given to white citizens at Summerville who were about to make use of free transportation to attend to private business.<sup>9</sup> By order of General Howard, April, 10, 1866, transportation was denied to the able-bodied except in extreme cases, and to teachers and agents except when traveling in the discharge of their duties, and duly accredited by the assistant commissioner.<sup>10</sup>

*Banks.*—On March 3, 1865, President Lincoln signed a bill to incorporate the Freedmen's Savings and Trust Company. The object of this institution was nominally to encourage thrift among the freedmen by providing for them a bank in which, sanctioned as it was by the United States government, they could have implicit confidence. Uncalled for deposits were to be used to promote negro education.<sup>11</sup> By Saxton's order, the South Carolina Savings Bank, which had been established by him at Beaufort,<sup>12</sup> was merged with the Freedmen's Savings and Trust Company, December 14, 1865; the balance of \$170,000 in the former institution becoming a large part of the capital of the new bank.<sup>13</sup> South Carolina branches of the Freedman's Savings

<sup>8</sup> American Colonization Society, 23-26; *The Nation*, III., 511 and IV. 227; *Charleston Advocate*, March 2, 1867.

<sup>9</sup> Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. I., No. 6, p. 115.

<sup>10</sup> School supplies and commissary stores were also transported at government expense. See Report of Gen. Howard, Nov. 1, 1866, p. 6; Ex. Docs., 41 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 6, No. 142, p. 21.

<sup>11</sup> Acts and Resolutions, 38 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 99; Fleming, W. L., *Documentary History of Reconstruction*, I., 382-383.

<sup>12</sup> See Chapter I., pp. 15-16.

<sup>13</sup> *The Nation*, I., 779; Williams, Geo. W., *Negro Race in America*, 403-410.

and Trust Company were established at Beaufort and Charleston.<sup>14</sup>

The negroes showed their appreciation of the new institution by entrusting large sums to its keeping, considering their financial condition. During the month of January, 1866, \$424.15 were deposited in the Charleston branch and \$498.20 at Beaufort. In November, 1866, Scott reported that nearly \$100,000 had been deposited within the previous year.<sup>15</sup> Interest of five per cent on deposits of at least \$25.00 was paid, and it is recorded that in 1868 \$4032.57 in interest, went to South Carolina depositors.<sup>16</sup>

In 1874, the bank collapsed, owing to mismanagement and fraud among its officials. At the time of its failure there were deposited at Charleston \$255,345 and at Beaufort \$55,592,<sup>17</sup> representing the slow savings and real sacrifice of thousands of negroes. The blame for this disgraceful betrayal of trust has fallen upon the freedmen's bureau, although it does not rightfully belong there. The freedmen's bureau and the freedman's bank were two separate agencies, the only connection between them being that J. W. Alvord, one of the trustees and apparently the founder and chief manager of the bank, was also inspector of schools and finances under the bureau, and reported concerning the bank to General Howard.<sup>18</sup> The responsibility really rests upon a small coterie of trustees, various dishonest officials, and the congress of the United States for loose incorporation and lack of proper inspection.

*Claims for Military Service.*—The ignorance and credulity of the negroes made them the easy prey of unscrupulous white men in the matter of money due for military services. Congress decreed during the war that no discrimination should be made between the races in the matter of payment. Every volunteer who was honorably discharged was allowed from \$25 to \$100 as

<sup>14</sup> Report of J. W. Alvord, Jan. 1, 1866, p. 16.

<sup>15</sup> Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. I., No. 6, p. 125.

<sup>16</sup> Report of J. W. Alvord, Jan. 1, 1869, p. 58.

<sup>17</sup> House Misc. Docs., 43 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 16, p. 61; Fleming, W. L., *Documentary History of Reconstruction*, I., 385.

<sup>18</sup> Report of J. W. Alvord, Jan. 1, 1866, pp. 16-17.

"bounty" in addition to his regular pay, the amount being determined by the length of time for which he had volunteered. Should the soldier die in service, this bounty should go to his family.<sup>19</sup> Other sources of money due negro soldiers or sailors came from the capture of the enemy's vessels (prize money) and from sums sent from other states to procure enlisted men.<sup>20</sup>

The negroes were defrauded in various ways. Enlisting and disbursing agents took advantage of their ignorance by keeping back money which was due. If payment was made, it frequently happened that officers easily persuaded the soldier to entrust it to them as a loan. Such loans often remained unsettled, especially in case of the death of the soldier. Probably the greatest amount of fraud was committed by so-called lawyers and false claim agents, to whom the negroes gave their claims. By representing that it would take years to untie the red tape at Washington, they either bought the claims for a small amount or advanced money on which they charged interest at the rate of 50, 100, or 150 per cent. When collections were actually made, these agents often demanded exorbitant fees and in some cases retained the entire amount.<sup>21</sup>

To protect the colored soldiers from such outrages, the freedmen's bureau organized its claim division in March, 1866. Officers and agents of the bureau were directed to receive claims from colored soldiers or their families and to forward them free of charge to Washington. March 29, 1867, Congress put the entire matter of the collection and payment of bounties and other money due colored soldiers into the hands of the bureau. Checks issued by the treasury department in settlement of claims of negro soldiers were made payable to the commissioner, who was instructed to "pay the agent or attorney his legal fees, and pay the

<sup>19</sup> U. S. Statutes at Large, XIII., 488, XII., 269, 270, 598.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, XII., 606; Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II., p. 260.

<sup>21</sup> Ex. Docs., 41 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 6, No. 142, p. 12; Report of the Sec. of War, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 673; Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II., p. 260; *The Nation*, I., 779 (November 27, 1865); Report of Gen. Howard, Nov. 1, 1866, p. 5.

balance to the claimant on satisfactory identification."<sup>22</sup> Howard reported in 1871 that 6,236 claims had been settled without cost to the claimant (except the necessary notarial fee which was restricted by law) and he estimated that \$62,360 in legal fees had been saved to the freedmen.<sup>23</sup> It is impossible to tell how much of this work was done in South Carolina, as the reports of the claim division were not made by states.

<sup>22</sup> U. S. Statutes at Large, XV., 26, 27.

<sup>23</sup> Report of Gen. Howard, Oct. 20, 1871, p. 4.

## CHAPTER VIII

### CONCLUSION

The part played by the freedmen's bureau in the readjustment of Southern life during the years immediately following the war is a matter of controversy. There is no doubt that in South Carolina many planters were prepared to deal justly by their former slaves, who looked to them as their natural protectors. For them the freedmen's bureau was probably unnecessary. But the evidence of Northern men traveling in the South during the period under consideration would indicate that many Southerners were not so kindly disposed.

In the fall of 1865, Carl Schurz and General Grant made official investigations of conditions in the Southern states. The former reported in December of that year that in some localities "planters endeavored and partially succeeded in maintaining between themselves and the negroes the relation of master and slave, partly by concealing from them the great changes that had taken place, and partly by terrorizing them into submission to their behests. I found a very few instances of original secessionists also manifesting a willingness to give the free-labor experiment a fair trial."<sup>1</sup> At the same time, Grant expressed the opinion that "in some form the freedmen's bureau is an absolute necessity until civil law is established and enforced, securing to the freedmen their rights and full protection."<sup>2</sup> In December, 1865, after 14 weeks in the South, Sidney Andrews wrote that he considered it necessary for the nation to sustain in the South "some agency that shall stand between the whites and the blacks and aid each class in coming to a proper understanding of its privileges and responsibilities."<sup>3</sup> From such evidence as is given in these three opinions it seems certain that the bureau was needed.

Among Southerners, also, were reported some advocates of

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<sup>1</sup> Schurz, Carl, Report, Dec. 19, 1865, pp. 15, 20.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Appended letter from Gen. Grant, p. 107.

<sup>3</sup> Andrews, Sidney, *The South Since the War*, 400.

the bureau. When Generals Steedmen and Fullerton, upon the order of President Johnson, inspected the operation of the bureau in the Southern States, Scott, who was then the assistant commissioner for South Carolina, wrote: "The planters came forward and upheld my policy throughout, and are panic stricken at the very idea of the removal of the bureau. . . . Nearly all of the planters in the state will acknowledge that the bureau is necessary for the welfare of all classes; but such men as Spratt, Conner, and Bonham, who are not planters but politicians, give their evidence that the bureau is detrimental to the interests of the South merely from political prejudice, and not from any knowledge that they have of the working of the bureau."<sup>4</sup>

The "panic" of the planters at the thought of the removal of the bureau has left no expressions except in the words of Scott. On the other hand, the unanimous verdict of Southern people, both as expressed today and as found in contemporary writings, is shown in the following typical extracts: "The bureau, by the law of its creation was to expire within one year of the close of the war. We trust it will be allowed to pass away. Its presence is anomalous and unnecessary. Its tendency has been, in a great measure, to disorganization and not to repose." (*Charleston Courier*, Dec. 27, 1865.) "This state is still to be afflicted with the remains of the United States Freedmen's Bureau." (*Horry Sentinel*, as quoted in *Charleston Advocate*, December 12, 1868.) "To the great mass of white people of the South the bureau is odious." (*Nation*, April 11, 1866.) "I will venture to say, and in proof of the assertion I appeal to the letter of Gen. Sickles to Senator Trumbull, to the recent report of Gen. Scott, the Commissioner of the freedmen's bureau for this state, and to the experience of all, black and white, engaged in agriculture, that if the races were left to themselves under the control which the present military government exerts or the impartial administration of the laws which a restored state government would enforce,

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<sup>4</sup> Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 120, p. 48; *The Nation*, II., 690 (June 1, 1866).

there would be no insuperable difficulty in the way of a complete understanding." (William Henry Trescot.)<sup>5</sup>

The unpopularity of the bureau in the South was of natural origin. Employers who were prepared to deal kindly and justly with their servants were for the most part trusted by the freedmen and the intervention of a third party brought unnecessary complications. For persons inclined to deceive or to intimidate the negroes, the bureau meant interference and restraint. The fact that it was established by their opponents in Congress and operated by Union soldiers and negroes, was sufficient of itself to make it obnoxious to the South.<sup>6</sup>

Aside from the natural dislike of compulsory supervision, the South found in some of the operations of the bureau occasion for legitimate complaint. The chief grievance was expressed in the following extracts from a local newspaper: "Just so long as a freedmen's bureau will serve out rations and clothes to a lusty and ablebodied race of negroes, just so long will they reject work. . . . Let the people of the North try this beautiful experiment in their own cities on the immigrant white population."<sup>7</sup> And again: "A few more years of the freedmen's bureau in the South will scarcely leave white or black sufficient rations for daily porridge, unless provided from the National pap box. By the end of that time no white man will be capable of work and no negro willing."<sup>8</sup>

The responsibility for the state of things so justly censured by the *Daily South Carolinian* lies back of the bestowal of government rations to that which necessitated it—the accumulation of negroes at Charleston and the sea islands, in the expectation of becoming land owners. The blame lies primarily with Sherman for his ill-advised field order and with the provisions of the first freedmen's bureau bill, which led the negroes to expect land

<sup>5</sup> Trescot, Wm. H. Letter on Reconstruction in S. C., 1867, in *American Historical Review*, XV., 578 (April, 1910).

<sup>6</sup> "The Sand-hillers who applied to the U. S. Commissary at Columbia for food to save them from starvation addressed him respectfully as 'the enemy.'" *The Nation*, V., 133 (Aug. 15, 1867).

<sup>7</sup> *The Daily South Carolinian*, January 30, 1866.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, February 16, 1866.

from the government. Encouraged by Saxton to emigrate to the coast<sup>9</sup> and led there by their desire for property, the freedmen naturally looked for support to the government, at whose invitation they had come.

Saxton's issue of provisions to those actually in danger of starvation was a necessary duty, but it in turn led to a worse evil. The belief of the negroes in gifts of land was so strong that in the winter of 1865-1866 they refused, as a rule, to contract for labor, and their determination was no doubt strengthened by the feeling that the government would keep them from actual suffering. It was not until Saxton had assured them that their expectation was groundless that they reluctantly entered into contracts with the planters.<sup>10</sup> Thus a large share of the idleness and dependence of the negroes during their first year of freedom was caused, not as is generally believed, by a careless bestowal of free rations, but by the badly conceived policy of settling negroes upon the abandoned plantations. The continuation of government rations after the first year was necessitated by poor crops, and was a benefit to both races.

Another charge against the freedmen's bureau was voiced in Congress by Senator Davis of Kentucky when he moved to call the act of 1866 a bill "to promote strife and conflict between the white and black races."<sup>11</sup> The mere fact that the government thought it necessary to furnish an intermediary agency aroused in the freedmen suspicions of their former masters. On the other hand, it relieved the whites of the responsibility of protecting and caring for the negroes, which otherwise most of them would have felt.

Generally speaking, there was an utter lack of understanding between the native Southerners and the officials of the bureau. "The late master knows less of the negroes' character than any other person,"<sup>12</sup> said Saxton, in absolute confidence that his five years' experience had brought keener insight than the lifetime of

<sup>9</sup> Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II., p. 221.

<sup>10</sup> Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 70, p. 95.

<sup>11</sup> Congressional Globe, 39 Cong., 1 Sess., Part I., p. 421.

<sup>12</sup> Report of Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II., p. 219.



a former slaveholder. Such misconceptions on the part of conscientious men, as Saxton undoubtedly was, caused needless friction; when united with dishonesty (as was the case only too often on both sides) it produced an hostility between the races, the effects of which can still be seen.

The relation of the freedmen's bureau to politics was most derogatory to the bureau and did much to create antagonism of the races. The bureau was essentially a partisan organization, brought into existence and maintained by a Republican vote in Congress. Many of its officers advocated negro suffrage,<sup>13</sup> and when that policy was adopted, officers and agents of the bureau were directed to spread the good news among the freedmen and to "advise and encourage registration." They also undertook to protect their wards from "designing persons" who would prevent them from registering.<sup>14</sup> In addition to thus protecting the negroes in the exercise of suffrage, some officials of the bureau endeavored to influence their vote. Through the work of the Union League, the negro vote became solidly Republican, and the freedmen were taught to distrust the political advice of the native whites.<sup>15</sup>

Several officials of the freedmen's bureau in South Carolina were elected by negroes to political offices. Assistant commissioner Scott resigned from the bureau to become governor of the state in 1868 and was re-elected in 1870. While governor, a resolution of impeachment was brought against him, to escape which he is accused of using \$48,645 of state funds as bribes to members of the House.<sup>16</sup> Other state officials who had previously been connected with the bureau were Reuben Tomlinson, Justus K. Jillson, Mansfield French, B. F. Whittemore and B. F. Randolph. Compared with the large number of bureau officers and agents, the above list (which is probably incomplete) is short,

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, Part II., pp. 222, 249.

<sup>14</sup> Report of Sec. of War, 40 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 673.

<sup>15</sup> Hendricks, Thomas A., *North American Review*, Vol. 123, pp. 268, 340; Herbert, Hilary A., *Atlantic Monthly*, Vol. 87, p. 151; *The Solid South*, p. 17.

<sup>16</sup> Reynolds, *Reconstruction in South Carolina*, pp. 172-173.

but any such connection did much to deepen the impression of native South Carolinians that the bureau was contrived by Congress for purely political ends.

After a period of over forty years, thoughtful men of the South must realize that in spite of its defects the freedmen's bureau produced some favorable results. One of its greatest benefits is expressed in the following quotation from Carl Schurz's report of December, 1865: "Not half of the labor that has been done in the South this year, or will be done there next year, would have been done or would be done, but for the exertions of the freedmen's bureau."<sup>17</sup> Undoubtedly, its supervision of contracts and transportation of the negro to fields of employment facilitated the South's return to industrial activity.

The bureau was also beneficial in protecting the negroes from unscrupulous whites. A spirit of lawlessness, resulting in abuse and murder, was rife among a certain class of South Carolinians. In December, 1865, the Charleston *Daily Courier* called upon the bureau to put down these "insurrections" and to secure the "peace and quiet of the community."<sup>18</sup> Soon after the murder of three prominent negroes in the fall of 1868, the Democratic state committee, headed by Wade Hampton, issued an appeal to the people of South Carolina "to support the law, to preserve the peace, and to denounce those crimes which have so recently been committed in some portions of our state."<sup>19</sup> It is true that in the bureau courts, fraud was committed by dishonest officials, but it is an open question whether, even if the opportunity had been given it by congress, the better element of South Carolina was then strong enough to have maintained justice and order as effectually as did the freedmen's bureau.

The bureau's distribution of food and clothing and its provisions for medical assistance helped large numbers of the needy of both races. By this means much actual suffering and probably

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<sup>17</sup> Schurz, Carl, Report of, 40.

<sup>18</sup> The Charleston *Daily Courier*, Dec. 13, 1865.

<sup>19</sup> The Columbia *Phoenix* of Oct. 23, 1868, as quoted in Affairs in the late Insurrectionary States, 42 Cong., 2 Sess., Report on South Carolina, Vol. 2, pp. 1248, 1249.

many deaths were averted. The educational work of the bureau is still felt in the existence of schools founded by its help, and in the state public school system, which may be said in some sense to be the outgrowth of this department. Indirectly, the educational work of the freedmen's bureau stimulated the whites to a wider interest in the public schools.

At the close of forty-five years since its dissolution, it seems possible to make a reasonably fair judgment of the bureau as a whole. Like all other human institutions, it was neither wholly good nor wholly evil. To have succeeded as its founder hoped it would succeed, would have required infinite wisdom and perfect honesty on the part of its officials. Its worst failures are attributable to the inferiority of the minor officers and agents upon whom the real work of the bureau lay, as well as to an incomplete knowledge of the difficulties inherent in the conditions themselves.

## APPENDIXES

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### APPENDIX A

*Form of Contracts* between planters and freedmen, as substantially adopted by the Darlington meeting, revised and adopted by the mass meeting of Sumter, Kershaw and Clarendon planters, December 21, 1865, and approved by Major General Saxton, of the Freedmen's Bureau:

STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA,  
.....District.

Articles of agreement between.....and....., freed men and women, whose names are hereunto attached:

*First*—The said freedmen agree to hire their time as laborers, on the plantation of....., from the 1st of January, 1866, to the 1st of January, 1867; to conduct themselves faithfully, honestly, civilly and diligently; to perform all labor on said plantation or such as may be connected therewith, that may be required by the said....., or his agent, and to keep no poultry, dogs or stock of any kind, except as hereinafter specified; no firearms or deadly weapons, no ardent spirits, nor introduce or invite visitors, nor leave the premises during working hours without the written consent of the proprietor or his agent.

*Second*—The said freedmen agree to perform the daily tasks hitherto usually allotted on said plantation, to-wit: 125 to 150 rails; cutting grain, three to six acres; ditching and banking, 300 to 600 feet; hoeing cotton, 70 to 300 rows an acre long; corn, 4,000 to 7,000 hills. In all cases where tasks cannot be assigned they agree to labor diligently ten hours a day.

*Third*—For every day's labor lost by absence, refusal or neglect to perform the daily task or labor, said servants shall forfeit fifty cents. If absent voluntarily or without leave, two dollars a day; if absent more than one day without leave, to be subject to dismissal from the plantation and forfeiture of share in the

crop. All such fines and forfeitures shall inure to the benefit of the employer and employees in proportion to their relative shares.

*Fourth*—Said freedmen agree to take care of all utensils, tools and implements committed to their charge, and to pay for the same if injured or destroyed; also, to be kind and gentle to all work animals under their charge, and to pay for any injury which they may sustain while in their hands through their carelessness or neglect; and forfeitures herein specified will be subject to the decision of the authorities having proper jurisdiction of the same.

*Fifth*—They stipulate to keep their houses, lots and persons in neat condition, subject to the inspection of the employer or his agent at any time.

*Sixth*—They agree to furnish from their number a nurse for the sick, also stock-minder and foreman, to be selected by the employer. They agree to be directed in their labor by the foreman, to obey his orders, and that he shall report all absences, neglects, refusal to work, or disorderly conduct, to the employer or his agent.

*Seventh*—Said employer agrees to treat his employees with justice and kindness; to furnish each family with quarters on his plantation, with a quarter of an acre of land for a garden and the privilege of getting fire-wood from some portion of the premises, to be indicated by the employer, (and to divide the crop with them in the following proportions, viz: to the employees one-third of the corn, potatoes and peas, gathered and prepared for market, and one-third net proceeds of the ginned cotton, or its market value at the end of the year.) When desired, to furnish the usual bread and meat ration, to be accounted for at the market price, out of their share of the crop. (Where "stated wages" are allowed, the *pro rata* of the crop will be omitted.)

*Eighth*—Said employer agrees to furnish animals, and to feed them: also wagons, carts, plantation implements, such as cannot be made by the laborer on the plantation.

*Ninth*—All violations of the terms of this contract, or of the rules and regulations of the employer, may be punished by dismissal from the plantation, with forfeiture of his or her share of the crop or wages, as the case may be. But the employer shall pay said parties at the rate of four dollars a month for full hands, deducting therefrom advances made.

*Tenth*—The employer or his agent shall keep a book, in which shall be entered all advances made by him, and fines and forfeitures for lost time, or any cause, which book shall be received as evidence in same manner as merchants' books are now received in courts of justice, and shall have a right to deduct from the share of each laborer all his or her fines and forfeitures, also all advances made by him, subject to the decision of the authorities having jurisdiction of the same.

*Eleventh*—The laborer shall not sell any agricultural product to any person whatever, without the written consent of the employer, until after the division of the crops.

*Twelfth*—The laborers shall commence work at sunrise, and be allowed from one to three hours each day for their meals, according to the season of the year.<sup>1</sup>

Witness our hands, etc., this.....

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<sup>1</sup> Report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction, Part II., pp. 241-242.

## APPENDIX B

## AN INCOMPLETE ROLL OF OFFICERS AND AGENTS OF THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU IN SOUTH CAROLINA, WITH THE OFFICES HELD AND THE AUTHOR'S SOURCE OF INFORMATION ON EACH

- Bassett, Capt. Geo. T., Chief Commissary, Member of Gen. Saxton's staff. (Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 8, No. 70, p. 98.)
- Baker, E. C., Office not given. (Letter in possession of the writer.)
- Caraher, Lieut. Col. A. G., Acting Asst. Com. of Laurens District, Nov. 1, 1866. (Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 124.)
- Chase, Lieut. Jno. C., Sub. Asst. Com. of Georgetown District, Nov. 1, 1866. (*Ibid.*, p. 119.)
- Cornelius, Maj. J. E., Acting Asst. Com. of Edisto District, Nov. 1, 1866. (*Ibid.*, p. 123. *Charleston Daily Courier*, March 10, 1866.)
- Deane, Brevet Maj. E. L., Aide-de-camp—Member of Gen. Scott's staff, Nov. 1, 1866. (Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 126.)
- De Forrest, Brevet Maj. J. W., Acting Asst. Com. of Greenville District, Nov. 1, 1866. (*Ibid.*, p. 122.)
- Delany, Major, Officer (Colored.) *Daily South Carolinian*. Jan. 17, 1866.
- De Witt, Surgeon Wm. R., Chief Medical Officer for S. C. and Ga., Mar. 1, 1866. (Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 115. *The Nation*, II., 260.)
- Edie, Col. J. R., Asst. Com. for S. C., July 31, 1868-Jan. 1, 1869. (Report of Gen. Howard, Oct. 14, 1868, pp. 3, 26.)
- Edwards, Maj. J. E., Sub. Asst. Com. of the Islands. (*New York Times*, June 13, 1866.)
- Ely, Brevet Brig. Gen., Sub. Asst. Com. at Columbia, 1865, 1866. (*Ibid.*, *The Nation*, I., 290.)

- Evans, M. A., Agent—Dismissed Dec. 4, 1865—(Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 8, No. 70, p. 117.)
- Everson, Brevet Maj. E. W., Asst. Surgeon and Aide-de-camp—Member of Gen. Scott's staff, Nov. 1, 1866. (Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 126.)
- Faust, Brevet Brig. Gen. B. F., Acting Inspector General—Member of Gen. Scott's staff, Nov. 1, 1866. (*Ibid.*, p. 125.)
- Fowler, Chaplain J. H., In charge of Dept. of Marriage Relations for S. C. and Ga., Nov. 3, 1865. (Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 8, No. 70, p. 117.)
- French, Rev. Mansfield, Supervisor of Missions and Marriage Relations of Freedmen, Feb. 7, 1866. (*Charleston Weekly Record*, Feb. 17, 1866. *New York Times*, June 13, 1866.)
- Gile, Brevet Brig. Gen. Geo. W., Acting Asst. Com. of Sumter, Darlington, Chesterfield, Marlborough and Marion Districts, Nov. 1, 1866. (Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 119.)
- Greene, Col. J. Duwell, Acting Asst. Com. of Columbia District, Nov. 1, 1866. (*Ibid.*, p. 120.)
- Happersett, J. C. G., Surgeon-in-chief—Member of Gen. Scott's staff, Nov. 1, 1866. (*Ibid.*, p. 126.)
- Harkisheimer, Brevet Maj. W. J., Officer in charge of Richland and Lexington State Districts. (Report of Gen. Howard Oct. 14, 1868, p. 27.)
- Hogan, Dr. M. K., Surgeon-in-chief of S. C., 1869. (Report of Gen. Howard, Oct. 23, 1869, p. 17.)
- Howard, Brevet Brig. Gen. C. H.,—Brother of O. O. Howard—Inspector General—Chief of Gen. Saxton's staff—Jan. 20, 1866. (Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 8, No. 70, p. 98. *South Carolina Leader*, Dec. 9, 1865.)
- Jillson, J. K.,—A Mass. teacher—Employee of the Educational Department. (Reynolds, *Reconstruction in South Carolina*, 87.)
- Ketchum, Capt. Alex. P., Acting Asst. Adjutant General in charge of the restoration of lands, Oct. 19, 1865. (Ex. Docs., 39



Cong., 1 Sess., No. 11, p. 8. *Daily South Carolinian*, Jan. 17, 1866.)

Kinsman, Brevet Maj. O. D., Asst. Adjutant General—Member of Gen. Saxton's staff. (Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 8, No. 70, p. 98.)

Lewis, Capt. J. W. (Private Letter.)

Lockwood, W. H. (Private Letter.)

Long, Capt. J. H., Aide-de-camp—Member of Gen. Scott's staff—Jan. 20, 1866. (*Charleston Weekly Record*, Feb. 10, 1866.)

Lott, Lieut. L. J., Sub. Asst. Com. at Charleston. (*New York Times*, June 13, 1866.)

Low, Brevet Lieut. Col. James P., Chief Receiving and Disbursing Officer for S. C., 1866—Member of Gen. Saxton's and Gen. Scott's staffs. (Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 6, pp. 125, 126.)

McConaghy,—From Chicago—Officer at Winnsboro. (Private Letter.)

Middleton, J. B., Special Agent in Marion District, 1867. (Private Letter.)

Neagle, Controller General. (Private Letter.)

Newcomb, Geo. (Private Letter.)

Pillsbury, Agent. (*Daily Record*, Freedmen's Aid Society. Letter from R. Tomlinson, Mar. 26, 1869.)

Place, Capt. Samuel, Officer at Sumter. (Private Letter.)

Powers, Lieut. J. S., Sub. Asst. Com. of Beaufort District, Nov. 1, 1866. (Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 119.)

Runkle, Brevet Brig. Gen. Benj. P., Acting Asst. Com. of Anderson District, Nov. 1, 1866. (Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 121.)

Rutherford, Capt. J. P., Assistant Quartermaster—Member of Gen. Saxton's staff. (Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 8, No. 70, p. 98.)

Saxton, Brevet Maj. Gen. Rufus, Asst. Com. for S. C., June 13, 1865-Jan. 15, 1866. (Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 11, pp. 2, 46. Report of the Joint Com. on Reconstruction, Part II., p. 216.)

- Saxton, Maj. S. Willard, Aide-de-camp—Member of Gen. Saxton's staff. (Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 8, No. 70, p. 98.)
- Scott, Brevet Maj. Gen. R. K., Asst. Com. for S. C., Jan. 20, 1866-July 31, 1868. (Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 6, p. 112. Howard's Report, Oct. 14, 1868, p. 26.)
- Smith, Brevet Maj. H. W., Asst. Adjutant General—Member of Gen. Saxton's and Gen. Scott's staffs. (Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 8, No. 70, p. 98. Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 125.)
- Stoeber, Lieut. E. M., Aide-de-camp—Member of Gen. Saxton's staff—Oct. 3, 1865. (Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 8, No. 70, p. 98.)
- Stone, Lieut. (Major), Sub. Asst. Com. at Edgefield. Agent at Aiken, Feb. 21, 1867. (Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 122. *The Nation*, IV., 143.)
- Taylor, Brevet Maj. Stuart M., Asst. Adjutant General. (Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 8, No. 70, p. 116.)
- Tomlinson, Reuben—From Philadelphia, Supt. of Education for S. C. (Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 115.)
- Towles, D. F., Discharged Jan. 15, 1866. (Ex. Docs., 39 Cong., 1 Sess., Vol. 8, No. 70, p. 98.)
- Walker, Brevet Maj. L., Acting Asst. Com. of Anderson District—Succeeding Gen. Runkle—Nov. 1, 1866. (Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 121.)
- Whittemore, Chaplain B. F. (Private Letter.)
- Williams, Col. G. A., Acting Asst. Com. of Charleston District, Nov. 1, 1866. (Sen. Docs., 39 Cong., 2 Sess., Vol. 1, No. 6, p. 118.)

## APPENDIX C

SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS OF THE NEW ENGLAND BRANCH OF THE  
FREEDMEN'S UNION COMMISSION, STATE OF SOUTH  
CAROLINA, 1867-1868

TOWN	NAME OF SCHOOL	TEACHER	SALARY PER MO.	ADOPTED BY	OPENED
Charleston	Shaw Memorial	Arthur Sumner	\$1,000.00 p.a	Barnard Soc.	
Charleston	Shaw Memorial	Carrie S. Lincoln	40.00	Dorchester	Oct. 7
Charleston	Shaw Memorial	Kate Niles	40.00	Miss E. C. Greene	Oct. 7
Charleston	Shaw Memorial	Clara F. Woodbury	40.00	Members of King's Chapel Lincoln Soc. Roxbury	Oct. 7
Charleston	Shaw Memorial	Mary A. Upton	40.00	Hollis St. Church	Oct. 7
Charleston	Shaw Memorial	Augusta Sawyer	35.00		Oct. 7
Charleston	Shaw Memorial	Maggie Wynne	25.00	Cambridge	Oct. 7
Charleston	Shaw Memorial	Jane Weston	25.00	Theo. Parker Soc.	
Charleston	Shaw Memorial	Ellen M. Jones	40.00	Dedham	
Charleston	Shaw Memorial	Mary E. Billings			
Charleston	Shaw Memorial	Rosa Ramsder			
Statesbury		Richard S. Holloway			
Statesbury		Mrs. R. S. Holloway			
Kingstree		Sarah Coleman			
Camden	Jackson	Justus K. Tillson	50.00	Burlington, Vt.	
Camden	Jackson	Ellen A. Gates	35.00	Barnard Soc.	
Camden	Jackson	Louisa Dibble	25.00	Winchester	
Camden	Jackson	Frank Carter	35.00	Newton Soc.	
Camden	Jackson	F. J. Collie*			
Camden	Jackson	Marion D. Stuart	35.00	Appleton St. S. S.	
Camden	Jackson	Sarah F. Woodworth	35.00	Lowe's	
Oro		H. J. Maxwell	35.00	Brookline	
Beaufort	Hooper	Elizabeth H. Botume	40.00	Watertown Soc.	
Beaufort	Hooper	Fanny S. Longford	40.00	Indian St. Church	
Summerville	Stevenson	Mary A. Haslev	40.00	Cambridge	Oct. 21
Summerville	Stevenson	Catherine A. Cogswell	40.00	Foxboro	Oct. 21
Ladies' Is.	Eustis Plantation	S. R. Bowlthorpe		Mr. F. A. Eustis	April 6
Sumter		Jane B. Smith	40.00	Cambridgeport	Sept. 30
Lynchburg		Thos. Jones			
Edisto Is.		A. Jane Knight	40.00	Lancaster	Nov. 13
Marion		Joshua Wilson			
Florence	Wilson	Thos. C. Cox	45.00	Barnard Soc.	Oct. 1
Florence	Garrison	T. B. Cordon	35.00	Hopedale	Oct. 1
Cheraw		Henry L. Shrewsbury	40.00	First Ch., Boston	
Cheraw		Timothy L. Weston	35.00		
Marion		Wm. A. Barre	35.00	Milford, N. H.	
Marion	Champion	Wm. A. Havre	45.00		
Springfield		Henry F. Hayne	45.00	Cambridge	
Society Hill		James Hamilton			
Orangeburg	Tullock	T. K. Sarportas	50.00	St. Johnsbury	
Kingstree	Tomlinson	Henry Frost	40.00	Barnard Soc.	
Orangeburg	Tullock	W. J. McKinlay	35.00		
Darlington	Washington	Mrs. Whittemore	35.00	Arlington St. Ch.	
Camden	Jackson	Marion D. Stuart	35.00	Appleton St. S. S.	
Camden	Jackson	S. F. Woodworth	35.00	Lowe's	
Darlington	Jefferson	Frances A. Kei h			

\* Left

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